

Message Text

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ACTION PRS-01

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FM USDEL SECRETARY IN PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

USIA WASHDC IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 04 SECTO 3094

SECSTATE FOR S/PRS AND JOHN TRATTNER; DEPARTMENT PASS
NSC FOR DR. BRZEZINSKI AND WHITE HOUSE FOR MR. POWELL;
USIA FOR IEU JOHN SHIRLEY

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (VANCE. CYRUS) FR

SUBJECT: ON-RECORD PRESS CONFERENCE WITH TRAVELING
PRESS, ABOARD PLANE LONDON/PARIS - APRIL 1.

1. FOLLOWING IS QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION ON BOARD
AIRCRAFT APRIL 1:

2. MR. SECRETARY. DO YOU MIND IF I START OUT BY ASKING
YOU THE SAME QUESTION WE STARTED OFF WITH YESTERDAY?
NOW THAT MR. GROMYKO HAS TOLD US WHY HE THINKS THE
PACKAGE IS INEQUITABLE, NAMELY THAT IT PRESERVES THE
AMERICAN LEAD IN SOME AREAS AND REQUIRES THE RUSSIANS TO
CUT DOWN THE AREA WHERE THEY MIGHT EXPAND. HOW DO
YOU ANSWER THAT?

A. I WOULD ANSWER IT BY SAYING THAT I THINK THAT YOU CAN
TAKE A LOOK AT THE OVERALL PACKAGE; IT IS BALANCED AND
FAIR. LET'S START OFF IN THE ICBM FIELDO. IN THE ICBM
FIELD IT REQUIRES BOTH OF US TO REDUCE AND TO REDUCE TO
THE SAME NUMBER. SECONDLY, IT IS TRUE THAT IT REQUIRES
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THE SOVIETS TO REDUCE IN THE AREA OF LARGE BALLISTIC
MISSILES. THAT, HOWEVER, IS IMPORTANT BECAUSE IT IN-
CREASES THE STABILITY THAT WOULD RESULT AS A RESULT OF
CONSUMMATION OF THE PACKAGE. IF YOU TAKE A LOOK AT THE
TOTALS THAT WOULD RESULT FROM THE PACKAGE YOU WOULD SEE
THE SOVIET UNION ENDING UP WITH A SUBSTANTIAL ADVANTAGE
IN THROW WEIGHT STILL BUT A REDUCED ADVANTAGE IN THROW

WEIGHT, AND IT WOULD SHOW THE U.S. ENDING UP WITH A SLIGHT ADVANTAGE IN THE WARHEAD AREA. BUT BOTH WOULD HAVE REDUCED THE NUMBERS OF WEAPONS THEY HAVE AND ACCORDINGLY TO HAVE PRODUCED A MORE STABLE SITUATION. INsofar AS FREEZES ARE CONCERNED, THE FREEZES WOULD FOR THE FIRST TIME BEGIN TO GET A HANDLE ON THE QUALITATIVE IMPROVEMENT PROBLEM WHICH NONE OF THE PREVIOUS AGREEMENTS HAVE TOUCHED, AND I THINK THIS IS A TERRIBLY IMPORTANT STEP FORWARD. INsofar AS THE CRUISE MISSILE IS CONCERNED, THE U.S. IN ITS PROPOSAL AGREED TO LIMITATION ON THE CRUISE MISSILE; INsofar AS BACKFIRE IS CONCERNED IT MADE A MOVEMENT OR CONCESSION TOWARD THE SOVIET POSITION AND THUS I THINK WHEN YOU TAKE A LOOK AT THE WHOLE PACKAGE YOU CAN SAY IT'S A FAIR AND EVENLY BALANCED PACKAGE.

3. Q. ON THE WAY OVER YOU SAID THAT THIS PARTICULAR PACKAGE - THE ONE YOU WERE PREPARED TO DISCUSS SOME MINOR ASPECTS OF IT, IN THE ESSENTIALS THAT WERE FUNDAMENTAL AND BASICALLY NON-NEGOTIABLE. IS THAT STILL THE CASE OR WILL THERE BE SOME KIND OF MODIFIED PROPOSAL TO MAKE IN GENEVA?

A. NO. I WOULD HOPE THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD STUDY OUR PROPOSALS AND COME BACK WITH - AND IF THEY SEE SPECIFIC ASPECTS OF IT THEN THAT THEY WOULD COME BACK WITH SPECIFIC COUNTER PROPOSALS WHICH WE, OF COURSE, WOULD TAKE UNDER CONSIDERATION. BUT, AS I SAID, IT SEEMS TO ME TO BE FAIR AND EQUITABLE AND IF THERE ARE SPECIFICS ABOUT IT WHICH THEY THINK ARE NOT, LET THEM PUT THEM ON

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THE TABLE AND WE'LL CONSIDER THEM.

4. Q. MR. SECRETARY. DO YOU THINK THAT LOOKING BACK ON IT NOW, LOOKING ESPECIALLY AT THE TRADE UNION SPEECH AND SOME OF THE COMMENTS BY THE SOVIETS LEADING UP TO YOUR MEETING WITH MR. BREZHNEV THAT PERHAPS THE AMERICAN SIDE MAY HAVE MISINTERPRETED THE SERIOUSNESS WITH WHICH THE SOVIETS HELD THEIR CONTENTION THAT THE UNITED STATES WAS INTERFERING IN ITS INTERNAL AFFAIRS, AND THAT THERE WAS LINKAGE BETWEEN ATMOSPHERE AND SALT.

A. I INDICATED TO YOU, I BELIEVE, ON THE WAY OVER, THAT THEY WOULD MAKE THEIR FUNDAMENTAL DETERMINATION ON THE BASIS OF THE PROPOSAL ITSELF, NOT UPON THE QUESTION OF THEIR VIEWS WITH RESPECT TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES. I THINK MR. GRCMYKO CONFIRMED THAT. I INDICATED PREVIOUSLY THAT I THOUGHT THAT THEIR VIEW WITH RESPECT TO HUMAN RIGHTS COULD AFFECT THE GENERAL ATMOSPHERE BUT WOULD NOT AFFECT THEIR ULTIMATE DECISION ON THE

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MILITARY QUESTIONS INVOLVED IN THE PACKAGE. I STILL
THINK THAT'S CORRECT.

5. Q. MR. VANCE - DO YOU THINK IT'S POSSIBLE OR LIKELY
THAT THE RUSSIANS MAY HAVE BEEN PUT ON THE DEFENSIVE BY
THE PUBLICITY GIVEN OUR APPROACH BEFORE THE UNITED
STATES EVER GOT TO MOSCOW? IS IT POSSIBLE THAT IN AN
EFFORT TO BE SORT OF MORE OPEN TO THE UNITED STATES
PEOPLE THE PRESIDENT MIGHT HAVE IN EFFECT GIVEN THE
WRONG SIGNAL TO THE RUSSIANS AND THEY MAY HAVE INTER-
PRETED THAT AS A POLITICAL GIMMICK OR SOMETHING?

A. NO, I DON'T REALLY THINK SO.

6. MR. SECRETARY - TO WHAT EXTENT DO YOU THINK THE
SOVIETS REJECTED THE PACKAGE ON WEDNESDAY FOR MILITARY
REASONS, AND TO WHAT EXTENT DID THEY REJECT IT TO TEST
THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION RESOLVE?

A. I WOULD MAKE JUST A GUESS. AT THIS POINT I HAVE NO
IDEA.

7. Q. YOU HAVE NO CONCEPTION...?

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A. NO. IT WOULD BE A TOTAL GUESS. NO, AS I INDICATED TC YOU, HE SAID THAT INSOFAR AS THE COMPREHENSIVE PACKAGE WAS CONCERNED THAT THEY CONSIDERED IT INEQUITABLE AND ONESIDED AND THEREFORE REJECTED IT. INSOFAR AS THE OTHER PACKAGE WAS CONCERNED THEY SAID THAT THAT WAS UNACCEPTABLE BECAUSE THEY DID NOT BELIEVE IT COMPORTED WITH VLADIVOSTOK. I TOLD YOU ON WEDNESDAY NIGHT THAT I DID NOT - WE DID NOT AGREE - TO EITHER OF THOSE STATEMENTS BY THE GENERAL SECRETARY; THAT WE FELT THAT THE PACKAGE WAS EQUITABLE AND FAIR AND WE FELT THE SECOND PACKAGE COMPORTED FULLY WITH VLDVLADIVOSTOK.

8. Q. WHAT DO YOU THINK IN GENERAL OF THE GROMYKO NEWS CONFERENCE (INAUDIBLE).

A. OBVIOUSLY HE FELT IT NECESSARY TO HOLD A PRESS CONFERENCE TO STATE THEIR VIEWS. WE FELT THAT WE OWED IT TO THE PEOPLE TO EXPLAIN WHAT IT IS THAT HAD BEEN REJECTED AND THEREFORE I OUTLINED IN GENERAL TERMS WHAT OUR PROPOSAL WAS AND IN LIGHT OF THAT I THINK HE FELT IT NECESSARY TO COME OUT AND EXPRESS WHAT THE SOVIET VIEWS WERE. I DON'T SEE ANY HARM COMING FROM IT, NO. I THINK THE PEOPLE ARE ENTITLED TO KNOW. THIS IS A VERY IMPORTANT ISSUE FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND FOR THE SOVIET PEOPLE AND FOR THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD AND I THINK THEY ARE ENTITLED TO KNOW WHAT KIND OF PACKAGE IT WAS WE PUT ON THE TABLE.

9. DID HE VIOLATE ANY AGREEMENT?

A. NO, HE DID NOT.

10. Q. MR. SECRETARY - YOU INDICATED WEDNESDAY NIGHT THAT OUR APPROACH TO THE CRUISE MISSILES WAS TO PUT RESTRICTIONS BASED ON THE RANGE OF THE MISSILES. HOW WOULD THIS WORK IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT THE AIR LAUNCH AND SEA LAUNCH MISSILES, FOR EXAMPLE, COULD BE CARRIED MUCH CLOSER TO THE SOVIET BORDERS BY SHIP OR BY PLANE
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(INAUDIBLE).

A. WELL, I'M NOT SURE I UNDERSTAND YOUR QUESTION.

11. YOU PUT A RESTRICTION SIMPLY ON THE UNITED STATES DEPLOYING A MISSILE FOR A RANGE OF SAY 1500 OR 1600 MILES, FOR EXAMPLE. WHAT WOULD BE THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THAT WHEN AN AIR LAUNCH MISSILE CAN BE PUT ON AN AIRPLANE AND CARRIED BY B-1 OR BY 747 EVEN TO WITHIN 300 MILES OF THE SOVIET BORDER? OR A SEA LAUNCH CAN BE PUT ON A SHIP AND TAKEN INTO THE BALTIC AND FIRED.

A. WELL, THEN YOU HAVE TO GET INTO THE WHOLE QUESTION OF WHAT TARGETS CAN BE HIT AT WHAT RANGES AND IT GETS INTO A VERY COMPLICATED KIND OF EQUATION.

12. Q. IT IS THE DELIVERY SYSTEM THAT MATTERS MORE - THE RANGE OF THAT - THAN THE RANGE OF THE MISSILE ITSELF IN TERMS OF RESTRICTION.

A. NO, NO MORE THAN THE FACT THAT AN IRBM WHICH IS NOT INCLUDED, OR AN MRBM WHICH THE SOVIETS HAVE, ARE NOT CONSIDERED AS INTERCONTINENTAL WEAPONS. IT'S THE SAME KIND OF A THING.

13. Q. MR. SECRETARY - AFTER THE FIRST DAY OF TALKS YOU SAID THAT YOU THOUGHT THE AIR WAS CLEARED ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE. TO GET AT THAT POINT OF STABILITY WERE

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THE SOVIETS GIVEN SOME KIND OF ASSURANCE THAT THERE WOULD NOT IN FUTURE BE A DIRECT APPROACH IN DEFENSE OF ONE OR ANOTHER SOVIET DISSIDENT BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES?

A. NO, NO SUCH ASSURANCE WAS GIVEN.

14. Q. WELL, WHY WERE THEY SATISFIED?

A. I DIDN'T SAY THAT THEY WERE SATISFIED. THEY JUST DIDN'T BRING THE SUBJECT UP AGAIN.

15. Q. BUT YOU SAID THAT YOU FELT THAT AFTER THE FIRST DAY THAT THEY WOULD NOT BRING IT UP AGAIN.

A. I SAID THAT I FELT THAT THE AIR WAS CLEAR BECAUSE THEY HAD MADE THEIR STATEMENT. I DIDN'T SAY THEY WERE SATISFIED.

16. Q. BUT YOU SAID THAT THEY MERELY WERE GOING TO BE SATISFIED BY MAKING A STRONG STATEMENT. . .

A. YOU'RE USING THE WORD SATISFIED. I NEVER USED THE WORD SATISFIED. NEXT QUESTION.

17. Q. MR. SECRETARY - MR. GROMYKO'S STATEMENT IN UNCLASSIFIED

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MOSCOW SEEMED TO BE INSISTING THAT A NEW SALT AGREEMENT LEAD TO THE LIQUIDATION OF SOME OF OUR BASES IN EUROPE - BRITAIN - NATO BASES. WAS THE QUESTION RAISED WITH YOU AND ARE THEY GOING TO START SETTING SOME NEW CONDITIONS BEFORE THEY START NEGOTIATING?

A. IF THEY SHOULD PURSUE THAT IDEA THEN IT WOULD CHANGE THE WHOLE BASIS OF SALT. IN THE PAST, AS YOU KNOW, THE QUESTION OF FORWARD BASE SYSTEMS AND THE SOVIET EQUIVALENT, NAMELY THE IRBMS AND THE MRBMS, HAVE NOT BEEN INCLUDED AND THEREFORE IF THIS WAS TO BE INTERJECTED INTO THE SALT TALKS IT WOULD BE A TOTAL CHANGE FROM THE PAST.

18. Q. DID HE BRING IT UP WITH YOU?

A. AS I SAID, YES HE DID, HE BROUGHT IT UP ON THE LAST DAY. HE MADE HIS STATEMENT AND I INDICATED TO HIM EXACTLY WHAT I HAVE TOLD YOU.

19. Q. LET'S DO THE NUMBERS NOW TODAY. GROMYKO SAID QUOTE 1800 TO 2000 ENDQTE AND 1100 ON MIRVS. SINCE IT'S OUT PERHAPS WE CAN TALK ABOUT IT. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE ENTITLED TO KNOW. . .

A. WHAT ABOUT IT?

20. ARE THE NUMBERS RIGHT?

A. I'M NOT GOING TO GIVE YOU SPECIFIC NUMBERS. THEY ARE IN THE BALL PARK.

21. Q. WELL, WHAT DOES THE 1800 TC 2000 RANGE MEAN?

A. IT ISN'T A RANGE; TH E 1800 TO 2000 AS HE DESCRIBES IT WAS THE AREA OF REDUCTION. TO A NUMBER IN THAT AREA.

22. Q. THAT A NEGOTIABLE RANGE. . .

A. YES.

23. Q. WHAT ABOUT THE MIRV NUMBERS?

A. SAME THING.

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24. Q. INAUDIBLE.

A. I SAID I WASN'T GOING TO GIVE YOU ANY SPECIFICS - IT'S STILL IN THE BALL PARK.

25. Q. THE PRESIDENT SAID 550' CAN YOU EXPLAIN THAT TC US? THE PRESIDENT SAID 550 ON ICBMS.

A. THE ANSWER IS YES, THERE IS SUCH A NUMBER IN THE PACKAGE.

26. Q. IS THAT MIRV'S ICBM? MIRV ICBM LAUNCHERS?

A. THAT'S ALL I'M GOING TO SAY ABOUT NUMBERS.

27. Q. MR. SECRETARY. AM I RIGHT IN BELIEVING THAT THE SOVIETS GAVE YOU NO REASON TO BE HOPEFUL ON THE REUNIFICATION OF DIVIDED FAMILIES?

A. I TOLD YOU, ON REUNIFICATION OF DIVIDED FAMILIES, THAT I DISCUSSED THE SUBJECT WITH THEM AND THEY SAID THEY WOULD TAKE IT UNDER CONSIDERATION.

28. Q. THAT'S BASICALLY LIKE SAYING WE ARE NOT GOING TO DO ANYTHING ABOUT IT?

A. NO, IT'S NOT. I WOULDN'T DRAW THAT CONCLUSION. I THINK THAT REALLY THAT'S ALL THAT ONE CAN SAY ON THAT SUBJECT IN THE INTERESTS OF THE DIVIDED FAMILIES.

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29. Q. ARE YOU RETICENT THAT IN SPEAKING OUT YOU COULD QUEER A DEAL?

A. I HAVE SAID REALLY ALL I WANT TO SAY ON THAT.

30. Q. IS IT POSSIBLE THAT THERE WAS SOME KIND OF BLUNDER IN THE AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH TO THESE NEGOTIATIONS? THAT IS, YOU PRESENTED A FIRM PROPOSAL HOPING THAT THE RUSSIANS MIGHT NEGOTIATE. INSTEAD, THEY FOUND IT SO OUTRAGEOUS THAT THEY REJECTED IT OUT OF HAND AND HAVE REALLY SORT OF TAKEN YOUR BREATH AWAY.

A. THEY HAVEN'T TAKEN MY BREATH AWAY.

31. Q. YOU KNOW WHAT I MEAN - WAS THERE A BLUNDER. . .

A. I DON'T THINK SO.

32. Q. DO YOU SEE ANY PROBLEM AT ALL TO THE ADMINISTRATION'S CREDIBILITY THE WAY THAT THE SITUATION STANDS AT PRESENT? THE ADMINISTRATION IS SAYING FROM ALL DEPARTMENTS; SO ARE CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS THAT THE ADMINISTRATION WAS NOT SURPRISED THAT THE PROPOSALS
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WERE REJECTED BY THE RUSSIANS. FRANKLY, IN LOGIC, THAT MEANS THAT YOUR MISSION WENT WITH REAL PROBABILITY THAT IT WAS GOING TO BE REJECTED. IT SETS UP A WHOLE SYNDROME THAT THE UNITED STATES AT LEAST - IT SETS UP A PREMISE THAT THIS MISSION WAS DOOMED TO FAILURE FROM THE START. COULD YOU COMMENT ON THAT?

A. I INDICATED THAT I WAS DISAPPOINTED THAT WE DIDN'T MAKE PROGRESS AND ESTABLISH A FRAMEWORK. THAT DIRECTLY REFLECTS MY VIEWS.

33. Q. I RECOGNIZE YOU SAID YOU WERE DISAPPOINTED, SIR, BUT OTHERS ARE SAYING - THE REST OF THE ADMINISTRATION IS SAYING - SOMETHING CONSIDERABLY DIFFERENT. THEY ARE SAYING THAT THEY WERE NOT SURPRISED. IF THAT HOLDS TRUE THAT MEANS IN LOGIC THAT THEY EXPECTED THIS MISSION TO FAIL.

A. I DON'T THINK IT NECESSARILY MEANS THAT. WHAT IT PROBABLY MEANS IS THAT ANYTHING IS POSSIBLE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS AND THE FACT THAT WE WERE NOT SUCCESSFUL DIDN'T SURPRISE THEM. AND THAT'S SIMPLY

WHAT...

34. Q. WILL WE HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY WITH SOME OF THE OTHER OFFICIALS... FRANKLY WHAT ARE BASIC INCONSISTENCIES IN THE RATIONALIZATION AS IT NOW APPEARS - FOR MANY OF THE AMERICAN PROPOSALS. THEY APPEAR TO BE INCONSISTENT. I'M SURE THERE MUST BE AN EXPLANATION FOR THEM. WELL, I WANT TO GIVE YOU A SMALL EXAMPLE. THE UNITED STATES CALLS FOR A BAN ON ALL NEW NUCLEAR WEAPONS. THE CRUISE MISSILE IS A NEW NUCLEAR WEAPON. A. IT WAS DEALT WITH SPECIFICALLY. WHAT THE PROPOSAL CALLED FOR WAS WITH RESPECT TO ICBMS, NOT ALL NEW SYSTEMS.

35. Q. BUT YOU SEE, WE HAVE NOT SEEN THE LANGUAGE OF THE PROPOSAL AS THE PRESIDENT HAS STATED...
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A. THAT ANSWERS YOUR QUESTION.

36. Q. NO IT DOESN'T, SIR. THE PRESIDENT SAID ON WEDNESDAY, OR TUESDAY, THAT HIS PROPOSAL CALLS FOR A BAN ON ALL NEW NUCLEAR WEAPONS SYSTEMS. A. THE ACCURATE THING IS THAT IT CALLED FOR A BAN ON THE DEPLOYMENT OF ANYNEW ICBMS. OK?

37. THANK YOU, MR. SECRETARY.
VANCE

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